

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

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AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMCONSUL LUANDA

USMISSION USUN NY

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY LONDON

S E C R E T STATE 102308

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, ZA, US, OVIP (KAUNDA, KENNETH)

SUBJECT: KAUNDA'S MEETING WITH SECRETARY

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

LONDON FOR HAVERKAMP

1. KAUNDA, ACCOMPANIED BY FM MWAANGA AND AMB. MWALE, MET WITH THE SECRETARY ON APRIL 19. ASSISTANT SECRETARY DAVIS AND AMB. WILKOWSKI WERE ALSO PRESENT. THE FOLLOWING SIGNIFICANT POINTS WERE COVERED:

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(A) US ROLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: KAUNDA URGED U.S. TO PLAY A MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN SETTLEMENT OF RHODESIAN AND NAMIBIAN QUESTIONS, TO PROVIDE ASSISTANCE TO MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA, AND TO BE AWARE OF THE DANGERS OF AN INTERNAL EX-

PLOSION IN SOUTH AFRICA ARISING FROM THE PROBLEM OF APARTHEID. HE DESCRIBED OVERALL SOUTHERN AFRICAN SITUATION AS BEING A HOLDING OPERATION, SUCCESS OF WHICH DEPENDS ON WHAT US CAN DO. KAUNDA BELIEVED THE US SHOULD PLAY MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN HELPING RESOLVE THE NAMIBIAN AND RHODESIAN QUESTIONS, ESPECIALLY IN EXERTING INFLUENCE ON SOUTH AFRICA. SITUATION IN MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA, HE NOTED, HAS MORE OR LESS BEEN SETTLED, BUT ZAMBIA IS ANXIOUS THAT THE MO-

MENTUM ATTAINED ON THESE ISSUES NOT BE LOST. KAUNDA SAID THE SITUATION IN MOZAMBIQUE NEEDS TO BE CONSOLIDATED, WHILE IN ANGOLA LIBERATION MOVEMENTS HAVE PROBLEMS AND NEED HELP. RE RHODESIA, KAUNDA SAID MAJOR PROBLEM WAS THAT OF RESUMING TALKS BETWEEN SMITH AND ANC. IN NAMIBIA, ZAMBIA IS GRATEFUL TO USG FOR SUPPORTING AFRICAN STATES ON NEED FOR SAG TO WITHDRAW, BUT NOTHING YET HAS HAPPENED. ZAMBIA IS CONSIDERING WHAT ACTION SHOULD BE TAKEN. SOUTH AFRICANS, HE CONTINUED, WANT TO LEAVE BANTUSTANS BEHIND, WHICH IS UNACCEPTABLE. KAUNDA SAID THAT THERE IS NOT MUCH TIME LEFT IN SOUTH AFRICA. IF THERE IS AN EXPLOSION THERE, AFRICAN COUNTRIES WILL SUPPORT ARMED STRUGGLE. HE HOPED THAT WORLD GOVERNMENTS WOULD BRING PRESSURE TO BEAR TO AVOID THIS.

(B) IN REPLY, SECRETARY SAID US STANDS FOR SELF-DETERMINATION AND HUMAN DIGNITY. HE WELCOMED COMING INDEPENDENCE OF FORMER PORTUGUESE COLONIES AND SAID WE WILL DO OUR BEST TO SUPPORT THEIR INDEPENDENCE. HE NOTED THAT WE KNEW RELATIVELY LITTLE ABOUT SUCH AREAS AS ANGOLA, WHERE THERE ARE THREE DIFFERENT LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, AND THIS MADE IT DIFFICULT TO ESTIMATE WHICH POTENTIAL LEADER WOULD BE BEST FOR A STABLE RULE. RE MOZAMBIQUE, HE OBSERVED, WE HAVE NOT YET ESTABLISHED A FIRM RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP. SECRETARY FELT A USEFUL US APPROACH WAS TO TALK WITH MOZAMBIQUE'S LEADERS FIRST, AND TO SEND AID OFFICIALS LATER. HE INVITED KAUNDA'S COMMENTS ON SUCH AN APPROACH.

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(C) KAUNDA RECOMMENDED WE TRY TO CONTACT MOZAMBIKAN LEADERS AGAIN AND SAID WE MIGHT EXPERIENCE SOME INITIAL DIFFICULTY IN GETTING THROUGH TO THEM SINCE SAMORA MACHEL WAS NOT YET BACK IN MOZAMBIQUE AND HIS ADVISERS WERE NOT FULLY COORDINATED. HE UNDERTOOK TO ADVISE THE US WHEN WE MIGHT BEST APPROACH THEM.

(D) SECRETARY REMARKED THAT ZAMBIA'S AND THE US' VIEWS ON NAMIBIA WERE PARALLEL AND THAT HE THOUGHT THAT COUNTRY WOULD EVOLVE TO INDEPENDENCE. RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA SEEMED TO HIM MORE DIFFICULT ISSUES AND HE INVITED KAUNDA'S SUGGESTIONS ON POSSIBLE US ACTIONS.

(E) KAUNDA SAID ZAMBIA'S VIEWS REMAINED AS THEY WERE IN AUGUST 1974, WHEN FM MWAANGA MET WITH THE SECRETARY AND URGED THE US TO REPEAL THE BYRD AMENDMENT, DECLARE PUBLICLY ITS SUPPORT FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE, AND PUT PRESSURE ON SOUTH AFRICA TO REMOVE ITS TROOPS FROM RHODESIA AND TO CLARIFY ITS INTENTIONS TOWARD NAMIBIA. RE SOUTH AFRICA, KAUNDA SAID US HAS NOT

REALLY DONE MUCH TO HELP PREVENT RELEASE OF POTENTIALLY EXPLOSIVE TENSIONS IN THAT COUNTRY AND ASSERTED THAT SAG HAS SUPPORT FROM US, CITING AS AN EXAMPLE OUR SUPPLYING URANIUM TO SAG. ASSISTANT SECRETARY DAVIS POINTED OUT THE LONG-STANDING SAFEGUARDS SURROUNDING SALE OF URANIUM, WHICH LIMIT ITS USE TO PEACEFUL AND SCIENTIFIC PURPOSES ONLY, AND NOTED THAT INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY REGULARLY INSPECTS USES TO WHICH SUCH URANIUM IS PUT. SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTIONS ALL COMPLY WITH THESE RESTRICTIONS.

(F) SECRETARY THEN NOTED THAT ZAMBIA HAS NOT BEEN IN FOREFRONT OF COUNTRIES AT UN WHICH HAVE BEEN AGAINST US IN THE GROUP OF 77 AND MENTIONED HIS CONCERN ABOUT THE ATMOSPHERE OF CONFRONTATION AT UN. HE COMMENTED THAT IT WAS HARD TO RECONCILE POLITICAL COLLABORATION ON SOME PROBLEMS WITH BLOC APPROACHES ON OTHERS. IN REPLY, KAUNDA AND MWAANGA SAID THAT AT UN ZAMBIA HAS SUPPORTED OR OPPOSED ISSUES ON BASIS OF PRINCIPLE, NOTING THAT ZAMBIA'S SECRET

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CRITICISMS HAD BEEN DIRECTED AGAINST THE USSR AND OTHER COUNTRIES, AS WELL AS AGAINST THE US. SECRETARY THEN REMARKED, IN CLOSING, THAT HE HOPED ZAMBIA WOULD TRY TO UNDERSTAND OUR POINT OF VIEW.

2. FOLLOWING MEETING SECRETARY HOSTED LUNCH FOR KAUNDA AND PRINCIPAL MEMBERS OF PARTY. IN HIS TOAST, SECRETARY SAID THAT AFRICA IS A VERY IMPORTANT REALITY TO WHICH US WANTS TO GIVE INCREASING ATTENTION AND WITH WHICH IT WANTS TO ESTABLISH A NEW AND DYNAMIC RELATIONSHIP. HE OBSERVED THERE WAS AGREEMENT BETWEEN US AND ZAMBIA ON PRINCIPAL DIRECTIONS IN WHICH WE SHOULD GO BUT THAT THE PROBLEM IS TO DETERMINE HOW TO GET THERE. HE WELCOMED KAUNDA AS A LEADER WHO KNOWS AFRICA WELL AND WHOSE ADVICE US VALUES. KISSINGER

SECRET

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